2: Schaden--49 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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178 433 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of production and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 156 433 The economic efficiency of the individual does not represent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors [621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 433 771 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny [496] of human beings. It may be a pretext /a co-operative work party: see below, p. 66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

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This is true to such an extent that the annual economic cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

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It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe. The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 221 184

As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups, the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year. Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 221 184

Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year; this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed." In order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

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2: Schaden--57 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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243 796 824 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú flandé avatí mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú flandé avatí fiahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá flandé avatí jýguá); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kíivira angá or djahá djaporabéi kíivira angáre).

241 791 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynahá, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calendar, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 262 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary importance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nevertheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paraná coast, mandioca flour, as a consequence of the contact within alimentation system of the caiçara /cabocles of the coast/ as perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago spanned maize in importance in native cookery. One should note (191) this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andes Cordillera.

2: Schaden--108 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
582 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[571] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemongyrái. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination cuñakaiá, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

2: Schaden--132 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend -- except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or angúery of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

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• 771 775 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earthly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 177 999 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable, that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contain many elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded. If they succeeded in any lasting

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771 177 777 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils. Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] [184] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Nandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní 181 777 179 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his liberty, which he prizes above all (2).

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Miller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the blessings kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life: it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

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to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us: this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

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Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

2: Schaden--135 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

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771 182 797 177 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 184 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the element would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seem to be two causes for this:

771 781 184 First, the individual, or better, individualistic character of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious significance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receive revelations, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or [illegible] protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his [illegible].

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personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbyá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Guaraní preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

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754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "depivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêna, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, 764 when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet: against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow: against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery: in such a case it would be [638] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

2: Schaden--181 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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5. The direction of the religious acculturation

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There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

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It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbbá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Itariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

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/139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin [797] mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

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771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moãtendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôrto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
85 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
• 771 father of half a dozen mestiso children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple
[184] gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 77 177 [441] [273] /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. [437] (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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776 796 789 782 159 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise" is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 533 776 • 771 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player, as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 708 170 159 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individuals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

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771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvuasú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

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783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atyýguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuê, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjê, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[183] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem
[184] from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

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which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añÑ). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of añÑ. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añÑ, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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771 177 178 182 184 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate in the Revoluçãs Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/. 669 787 Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 796 177 829 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous attempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a fiemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

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2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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771 796 177 329 [782] [154] refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumĩ pïêta, the piercing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason). Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators; on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitionism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for compensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority that seizes them before a stranger.

771 177 178 [621] One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new elements in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that families belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrinations and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 177 159 156 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949 among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová religion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connection between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of the region and other elements of the civilized world.

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I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days i the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

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771 159 184 [574] A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group. On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual behavior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot participate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however, /147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists [571] [608] on the importance attributed to the social relationship established outside the family ties between compadre and the godson, he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová, among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the religious experiences obtained by participation in collective ceremonies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and religious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices, as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by [178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of his ancestors: the yvyráídjá, protector spirit, is identified with the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the "little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 179 178 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with disintegrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

2: Schaden--193 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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religious significance and function, but given a magical, medicinal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

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8. Éguedjý, tîpî rayr djadjapó piêta porî, djadjapó piêta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahú songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

/The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

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Chapter X

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

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existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung auss Presillig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karaíb /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future. -- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

2: Schaden--206 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

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"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

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Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

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In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realised finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--210 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

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What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

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If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

2: Schaden--211 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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770 771 772 The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider [776] Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykey, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

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772 The denominations yvý-marã-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[956] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[178] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

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1. The Ñandéva

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It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

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For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

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539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykey,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

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772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there: in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutsúgui odjidjóú oky ráivi): at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance: one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying: but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé óivy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief-prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 771 167 173 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykeý would come to look for them. At night all prayed: in the morning they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,

772 771 173

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykey. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go: the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[77] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý maráeỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/169 cont./ 2. The Mbüá

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [1756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [1771] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [1797] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 169 181 [184] Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The flanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 [796] Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/172 cont./

183 771 772 648 [796] destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired. [124] [828]

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way, the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers. [184] [782] [124] [829]

[782] [182] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá'ídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[72] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[73] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

[72] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandecy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and
776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult
•771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among
[791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandecy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of
•784 the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ*). A stock of traditional
[782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of
797 help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
[756] from them.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.